

Message Text

SECRET

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INFO OCT-01 SS-15 SSO-00 ISO-00 /024 W

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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 3193

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMCONGEN CAPE TOWN NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T LUSAKA 973

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR ZA RH

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO ZAMBIA: MEETING WITH AMERICAN
AMBASSADORS

REF: LUSAKA 953

1. IF IT PROVES IMPOSSIBLE FOR PRESIDENTS MACHEL AND
KHAMA TO MEET WITH SECY DURING HIS AFRICAN TRIP, ANOTHER
SUGGESTION TO LINK UP IN A SPECIAL WAY WITH THESE TWO
FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, IF IT APPEALS TO SECY, IS FOR
AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TO MAPUTO AND GABORONE TO MEET WITH
SECY IN ZAMBIA, PREFERABLY AT LIVINGSTONE AND POSSIBLY
ALSO WITH OUR AMBASSADOR FROM PRETORIA/CAPE TOWN.

2. MAJOR PURPOSE FOR CONVOKING SUCH A REUNION WOULD BE
TO GIVE SECY OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE BRIEF PUBLIC STATEMENT
AT VICTORIA FALLS WHICH WOULD POINT UP SPECIAL MESSAGES
HE SENDING TO MACHEL AND KHAMA (PARA 4 BELOW) AND IF SECY
WISHES, MESSAGES AS WELL TO SMITH AND VORSTER. SITE OF
VICTORIAL FALLS AT LIVINGSTONE WOULD VIVIDLY RECALL ABORTED
TALKS THERE IN AUGUST OF LAST YEAR WHICH REPRESENTED MAJOR
EFFORT BY AFRICANS THEMSELVES TO REACH PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

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WE WOULD HOPE TO USE SECY'S VISIT TO FALLS TO REKINDLE HOPE

THAT A NEW SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT STILL HAS A CHANCE.

3. PRESENCE OF SECY AT VICTORIA FALLS WITH AMERICAN AMBASSADORS FROM MAPUTO AND GABORONE ALSO IN ATTENDANCE WOULD BE MAINLY CEREMONIAL TO DRAW ATTENTION TO MOZAMBIQUE AND BOTSWANA AND THEIR SPECIAL GEOGRAPHIC RELATION TO RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. IT WOULD ALSO FLAG FACT US CONCERNED WITH INDIVIDUAL ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF ALL FOUR FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS AS WELL AS SOUTH AFRICAN PREMIER IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN DRAMA, ALSO THAT US WANTS TO DEMONSTRATE THIS CONCERN PUBLICLY.

4. IN HIS BRIEF STATEMENT BEFORE WORLD PRESS REPS AT VICTORIA FALLS, SECY COULD: REGRET HIS INABILITY TO MEET WITH MACHEL AND KHAMA; EXPRESS ADMIRATION FOR EFFORTS THEY MAKING TOWARD LIBERATION AND ACHIEVEMENT OF MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; NOTE HIGH PRICES THEY PAYING IN TERMS OF THEIR OWN ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT; ADDITIONALLY HE COULD POINT UP US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO BOTSWANA AND MOZAMBIQUE (PAST AND FUTURE) AND NOTE SPECIAL MESSAGES BEING CONVEYED TO TWO PRESIDENTS THROUGH AMERICAN AMBASSADORS TO THESE COUNTRIES WHO WITH HIM AT FALLS.

6. MESSAGE TO VORSTER COULD POINT UP KEY ROLE SOUTH AFRICA MUST PLAY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, APPLAUD EARLIER SAG DECISION TO WITHDRAW TROOPS FROM RHODESIA AND ANGOLA, NOTE TREMENDOUS INFLUENCE FOR GOOD, INCLUDING SOCIAL JUSTICE, INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE WHICH SOUTH AFRICA COULD BRING TO BEAR ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA; FACT THAT ENTIRE WORLD LOOKING TO SOUTH AFRICA TO MAKE RIGHT DECISIONS WITH REGARD TO FUTURE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THESE TWO TROUBLED AREAS. IF DEPT CONSIDERS APPROPRIATE, WARNING COULD BE ISSUED IMPLICITLY DIRECTED AT SAG BUT LEFT AMBIGUOUS THAT INTERVENTION OF ANY ONE FOREIGN POWER FROM AFRICAN CONTINENT OR FROM OUTSIDE WOULD BE SEEN BY OTHER FOREIGN POWERS AS INVITATION TO FOLLOW SUIT. THUS, OPPORTUNITY TO "LOCALIZE" SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEM, WHICH VORSTER PROMISED KAUNDA, MIGHT BE IRRETRIEVABLY LOST.

7. SECY'S MESSAGE TO SMITH (TRADITIONAL FOR VIPS AT FALLS)

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AND DELIVERED THROUGH MEDIUM OF WORLD PRESS COULD TELL HIM HE BEARS MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY WHEN HISTORY OF LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA WRITTEN. SMITH HAS IT WITHIN HIS EXCLUSIVE POWER TO PREVENT BLOODSHED IN RHODESIA IN INEVITABLE TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE. US HOLDS HIM RESPONSIBLE, SO WILL WORLD OPINION. US LOOKING FOR EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO AVOID BLOODSHED AND FIND WAY TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. SECY COULD RECOGNIZE REAL AND VALUABLE FOUNDATIONS OF NON-RACIALISM WHICH WE

APPRECIATE ALREADY EXIST IN RHODESIA; COULD POINT OUT THAT THESE WOULD BE WIPED AWAY IN ESCALATION OF ARMED STRUGGLE. AS ZIMBABWE LIBERATION ARMY MOVES TO CRUSH MINORITY RULE, THEY WILL INEVITABLY WIPE OUT THESE GOOD NON-RACIAL HUMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES IN RHODESIA. THERE IS ALSO RISK THAT ESCALATED WARFARE CARRIES ADDED DANGER THAT MILITARY REGIME WOULD TAKE OVER FROM WHITE MINORITY RULE. AN ENRAGED BLACK ZIMBABWE ARMY WOULD BE EXPECTED TO HAVE LITTLE TASTE OR DISPOSITION FOR CULTIVATING NON-RACIALISM AS KNOWN TODAY IN RHODESIA. UNDER SUCH A GLOOMY SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WOULD BE POOR INDEED AND A MAJOR CONCERN TO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES SUCH AS MOZAMBIQUE AND BOTSWANA.

8. AMBASSADORS AT ADDRESSEE POSTS WILL SURELY WISH COMMENT ON MEETING AND SUGGESTED MESSAGES, SHOULD PROPOSAL APPEAL TO SECY, AND TO OFFER THEIR IDEAS ON POINTS WHICH SHOULD BE MADE OR DROPPED.

9. IN SUGGESTING THAT AMERICAN AMBASSADORS COME TO ZAMBIA DURING SECY'S VISIT WE REALIZE ADDITIONAL STRAINS WOULD BE PUT ON OUR ALREADY BELEAGUERED ADMINISTRATIVE RESOURCES AT THIS POST. BUT WE FEEL THE OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED COULD GIVE ADDED DEMENSION TO SECY'S VISIT BY PROVIDING HIM WITH SEPCIAL, HIGH-PROFILE OPPORTUNITY TO SHOW THAT HE HAS NOT OVERLOOKED OR BYPASSED TWO OF THE FOUR FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS IN THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION, AS WELL AS TO DELIVER SPECIAL PUBLIC MESSAGES TO VORSTER AND SMITH.

10. THUS IF THIS PROPOSAL IS ACCEPTABLE, WE ARE SURE OUR COLLEAGUES WOULD UNDERSTAND IF THEY WERE ASKED TO ROUGH IT A BIT AND TAKE POT LUCK AT LUSAKA.

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WILKOWSKI

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PLANNING MEETINGS, MINISTERIAL VISITS, SPEECHES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 APR 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976LUSAKA00973
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760147-1229
From: LUSAKA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760447/aaaaboby.tel
Line Count: 157
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 LUSAKA 953
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 JUL 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 JUL 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <13 OCT 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO ZAMBIA: MEETING WITH AMERICAN AMBASSADORS
TAGS: PFOR, ZA, RH, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (MACHEL, SAMORA), (KHAMA, SERETSE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006